2014

Child Sponsorship as Development Education in the Northern Classroom

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Recommended Citation

Tallon, R. & Watson, B. (2014). Child Sponsorship as development education in the northern classroom. In B. Watson & M. Clarke (Eds.), *Child sponsorship: Exploring pathways to a brighter future* (pp. 297-316). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

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Child Sponsorship as Development Education in the Northern Classroom

Rachel Tallon and Brad Watson

Introduction

Child sponsorship (CS) marketing has been described as the pre-eminent lens through which many people in the Global North see the South (Smillie, 2000, p.121). Since the 1980s the repetitive use of images of malnourished, unclothed, sad and de-contextualized children by some international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) has been questioned and it remains apparent that '...no matter how effective the image, the message can be very destructive' (Coulter, 1989 p.2). A growing body of literature has emerged, concerned with the portrayal of the 'Other', particularly with the narrow format of a close-up picture of a passive child that CS has so often used (Manzo, 2008). Ongoing speculation suggests that some messages and images continue to 'ignore Northern complicity in creating inequality' while they 'portray people as helpless victims, dependent, and unable to take action...' (Plewes and Stuart in Bell and Coicaud, 2007, p.24). Further, the positioning of children at the centre of advocacy, advertising and interventions has led to claims that the dominant image of the child in many CS campaigns may have become a symbol for many places and people in the Global South (Paech, 2004; Strüver, 2007). As such, a more recent concern about CS marketing is that people in entire regions of the Global South may come to be seen by Northern donors as needy, passive and childlike through the dominance of CS representations (Dogra, 2012). This may be especially true for impressionable students in Northern schools where CS is advertised by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and facilitated by teachers in the absence of a pedagogically sound development education curriculum. A key issue is how students make meaning of their interaction

with CS INGOs and how they construct the 'Other' in response to marketing strategies that continue to utilize evocative images.

To their credit, ethical CS INGOs are increasingly concerned about their portrayal of people in the South and have paid particular attention in recent years to issues of respect and ethics regarding images of the vulnerable (see Mittelman and Neilson, 2011; CCIC, 2008 for discussion on the ethical use of images). INGOs have also carried out extensive research concerning how the public interprets their messages (VSO, 2002; Darnton and Kirk, 2011). Many large CS INGOs are not dissimilar in this regard. For example, in Australia, in keeping with standards promoted by the Australian Council for International Development for all INGOs in Australia, World Vision Australia's communication guidelines require that images 'ensure the respect and dignity of the subject is maintained' and 'represent situations truthfully' (World Vision Australia, 2009, p.4). Though such guidelines do not address the concern that a predominance of child images may render the South as childlike in the minds of donors, they do reflect improved standards and awareness embraced by leading CS INGOs in North America, Europe and other donor nations. Signatories to the Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organizations, including CS INGOs such as Plan, agree not just to 'Avoid images and messages that potentially stereotype, sensationalize or discriminate...' but to 'Truthfully represent any image or depicted situation both in its immediate and in its wider context so as to improve public understanding of the realities and complexities of development' (DOCHAS, 2006, p.2).

To date much of the scholarly commentary has been on adult perceptions of the Global South and how their knowledge levels and perceptions may be shaped by CS INGOs (see Plewes and Stuart, 2007; Manzo, 2006) with little research conducted into how CS advertising impacts young people in the North (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004). Research conducted with youth in New Zealand demonstrates that well-intentioned teacher use of CS to complement development education is potentially complex and can reinforce binary divisions regarding the world. This may undermine effective development education for young people whose depth of understanding and motivation for informed engagement will impact North-South interactions in the future.

Moving beyond recognition of the potential to create problematic misunderstandings, this chapter argues that the promotion of CS in schools and mobilization of Northern children to sponsor Southern children is best used as a possible quiver in an effective teacher's bow,

with others aimed at advancing student understanding of poverty, exclusion, geographic disadvantage, unfair trade, colonial legacies and a range of related issues. It should not be assumed by CS INGOs that young people in the Global North receive the idea of CS homogenously, positively, or in a manner likely to advance a global citizenship education (GCE) agenda.

Development education: From radical roots to consumerism?

The promotion of CS in schools and to youth is not a recent phenomenon. In 1929 the Save the Children Federation Journal reported that an enquiry made in some schools in Geneva (probably private schools) which sponsored children 'revealed genuine enthusiasm for it among teachers. The teachers were unanimous in declaring that their pupils took a greatly increased interest in the country of their adopted children, "but", they added, "the exchange of letters is absolutely necessary if the zeal of children is to be maintained"' (Schatzmann, 1929, p.9). Schatzmann argued that the benefits of adoption included the formation of real friendships, 'the weaving of a web of friendship throughout the whole world', and asserted that children who had adopted a little foreigner:

> naturally begin to take an interest in his environment, his town, his country. They are keen to learn all the customs of the country, its history, its national festivals, its buildings, its costumes. Visits are often planned, and more than once the adopted child has been asked to spend his holidays with his foster-parents (Schatzmann, 1929, p.10).

From the 1980s, a number of increasingly powerful INGOs spent significant funds on media and resources to raise the level of awareness of the Northern public about global inequalities and the need for concerted action to address them (Lidchi, 1999, gives an overview of the conflict within INGOs between education and fundraising). These broad efforts were designed to develop 'global awareness', and alert audiences to '...events and conditions in distant parts of the globe...' moving them beyond the 'motivational threshold of the average unconcerned citizen' (Lissner, 1977, pp.140–141). Loosely-termed development education, such efforts were not dissimilar to the early awareness raising agenda of S.C.F. in Great Britain however it

encompassed questions including 'do we pay proper attention to the explicit and implicit values which we convey to the public...?' (Lissner, 1977, p.145) For the most part, attempts to inform compassionate response with greater awareness was commendable although Duke (2003) has raised concerns that the very discourse of development education may conceal unconscious attitudes of superiority evident in calls for compassion. While some early development education efforts had radical underpinnings, challenging the 'pity them' framework and calling for a political response to global inequality (Bourn, 2011) many CS INGOs have allocated the large majority of their public communication funds to marketing CS as a product rather than a vehicle for informed giving and advocacy for sustainable change. For much of the twentieth century INGOs had ignored or paid lip service to Eglantyne Jebb's 1920s argument that 'Help should not be a gift from above but rather help aimed at self-help between equals where, everyone contributes according to their ability...' (in Save the Children, 2008, p.5).

McCloskey (2012, p.113) has differentiated between UK INGOs who consider their role to be that of donor and aid provider, and those who consider that they have a more transformational role in society to move beyond aid provision to draw attention to and address the structural causes of poverty. Although some INGOs have blended both, in theory the latter are arguably more likely to call for justice than compassion, and political or economic change rather than more aid. They are more likely to embrace development education encompassing the concept of Global Citizenship and a relatively new emphasis on GCE. According to Davies (2008) GCE is substantially different to the Global Education or World Studies agenda utilized by schools and colleges around the world since the 1970s insofar as 'Citizenship clearly has implications in terms of rights and responsibilities, duties and entitlements, concepts that are not necessarily explicit in global education.' Oxfam UK (1997, p.1) embraces this distinction, defining a 'global citizen' as someone who is not just aware of the wider world and their role in it but '...is outraged by social injustice, is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place, participates in and contributes to the community at a range of levels from the local to the global. Simply put, effective GCE in a school setting might aim to equip students to embrace an informed personal commitment to social justice and poverty reduction on local and global scales.

Child sponsorship within Northern schools

There are many positives identified by teachers in having CS in a school environment and it is not uncommon for classes or whole schools to sponsor a child. In some instances a picture of a sponsored child is framed and displayed on a wall as a prominent display of altruistic action which advertises and supports religious or humanitarian goals of school communities and outcomes relating to global education or GCE. For teachers CS can be embraced as a practical way for engaging students in humanitarian action that builds a sense of community amongst sponsors, advances their geographic knowledge and forges links with a sponsored child and their country. Additional, although rarer benefits include the opportunity for visiting the child by some of the school children – and contribution to a sponsored child's community – CS is an act of compassion that most Northern children can contribute something to, even a few dollars, ensuring an element of inclusiveness. The difficulty of ensuring that altruism and compassion are encouraged without development of negative attitudes and paternalism is the tricky part for both elementary and secondary school teachers. In the absence of a broader, age-appropriate GCE curriculum, CS can become an act of enthusiastic, unquestioned consumerism rather than an educative process rooted in informed giving and development of young people as advocates for justice. Offered without sufficient thought, it may patronize young people in the North as well as young people and their communities in the South.

Development education and GCE that seeks to unsettle normative or traditional conceptualizations of poverty and development in Northern youth often finds CS initiatives uncritically adopted in schools. The reality of CS in a school setting is that in the absence of effective development education or a broader curriculum designed to promote GCE, the main signifier is often the single child and the act of giving to a single child signifies a benevolent transfer to a relatively passive 'South'. Whether part of a school or class-based activity, the enthusiastic support of a sponsored child and resulting correspondence has been criticized for being a form of 'soft' development education (Andreotti, 2006). This is largely because it often prioritizes a Western-intervention development narrative which portrays the Global South as passive, in need of help and stresses charity. The relationship often proposed is largely one-way. The student in the North potentially makes a small financial contribution and feels good; very little other

sacrifice is called for and the sponsored child makes no unreasonable demands on the student in the North. A relationship with any people 'over there' can become confined to a one-way, minimalistic financial transaction, inspired by superficial communication and benevolent feelings exercised as an expression of charity.

Evidence from research

This section draws upon findings in a doctoral research project conducted in the New Zealand school context (Tallon, 2013). The aim of the research was to explore the meanings young people make from INGO messages about the Global South. 118 young people aged 13 to 15 years were surveyed in 2011 and 2012 with a qualitative methodology to canvass what impressions they gained from INGO images and media. Field research involved seven teachers and their year ten social studies students in five secondary schools chosen to represent a diverse selection of socio-economic communities. In the focus group activities that were part of the data collection, CS was not specifically mentioned in any question but in the students' responses, CS television advertisements and CS posters in their community were what they recalled the most when asked to think about the INGO sector. This is an important finding in itself as the CS poster was a prominent (and in some cases the only) signifier of the Global South identified by many of the participants. For a least a quarter of the students in the study, the child image of CS was the Global South. Disaster relief aid or other types of positive images were a distant second.

The study confirmed research by Bryan and Bracken (2011) and Seu (2010) concerning the mixed reception of audiences to INGO messages. In one of the six classrooms in the research described above, CS had been utilized as a teacher initiative to highlight water issues in the sub-Saharan region. Through focus groups it became evident that the students enjoyed the topic and expressed a sense of achievement associated with the child sponsorship that was an optional activity chosen by the class after the unit of learning. One student genuinely wanted to sponsor a child herself. It was apparent that the students strongly linked their knowledge of the region with the child sponsorship activity and when the topic was concluded, a picture of their sponsored child remained on the classroom wall. The extract below from a focus group discussion illustrates how this region came to be remembered by the students.

B2: People had to struggle to get water.
B3: Where we live in the city where it's...
B1: And we were fundraising money for...
B3: And we don't have to walk 200m or 200km or 200miles.
B1: Yeah, we learned about Niger and pretty much you have to walk like three ks just to get a bucket of water.
B3: Five meters or something.
B1: That wouldn't be everyone. That was just that specific person.
B2: And we sponsored a child.
B3: And then we had to do a test to see how long it would take us to get water from a certain spot, didn't we? We went out with a bucket carried on our heads...that was fun.
B1: Yeah.
B2: Cool topic anyway.
[School 1, group C]

Given the realities of a crowded curriculum and time limitations, many junior high school teaching staff would be pleased that the students know that Niger exists, understand the difficulty faced by some people, recognize global differences and inequalities in access to safe drinking water and enjoyed learning. At first glance, the above extract seems benign, if not positive. The students have learnt about someone else's need, engaged in a practical, memorable activity, and in this case they fundraised. However, a critical analysis should ask whether these outcomes are appropriate for the age-group involved. Is it enough for students to learn about them, then fundraise for them? (Bryan, 2011). In effect this may signal to the Northern student that the South is in deficit and we learn about them, never from them. Given Kothari's (1988) argument that where colonialism left off, development took over, INGOs in general and CS INGOs in particular are advised to consider if they are reinforcing or challenging the old divides inherent to a colonial mindset. Had the interview been with senior high school students there would be room for concern that students did not refer to complex reasons for water shortages, INGO partnerships, postcolonial issues confronting Niger and accuracy of representation. However, are these first impressions the most important and is this how the people in the South might wish to be remembered?

The attractive pull of being able to engage students in an activity to improve the lives of the 'Other' as part of learning about them, should be balanced with awareness of pitfalls. Taylor (2011) argues that rather than shifting the ontological basis of the student, a pedagogy which

promises absolution largely through a colonialist 'we can help you' framework, is a pedagogy of consolation (p.180). The sufferer is the student feeling guilty that they are wealthy/privileged and this space is uncomfortable and quickly resolved through fundraising efforts. There is a certain seductiveness for teachers because they can maintain a social conscience through encouraging action. What is offered is 'consolation rather than the critical and ethical tools to respond to this crisis' (p.181). This was in evidence in the classroom described above. For the majority of students, a geographical region became remembered by its need and the students felt empowered through their benevolence. The political, historical and environmental reasons for the global inequalities were certainly taught, and with some of the students they recalled these, but the lasting impression was the Global South's need.

Sponsoring a child was mentioned by at least 20 of the students in the study as something they approved of, that their family did or that they had reservations about. For the majority of students their empathy towards the plight of those in need was evident in their talk concerning the child sponsorship advertisements they saw on television as this extract demonstrates:

B2: Kids don't get an education when I see the [child sponsorship] ads, and when I see them I feel like I want to sponsor someone from the poor countries and help them to get a better future than yeah, get a better education and follow their dreams.
[School 5, group E]

This response is both positive and complicated. On the one hand, this boy shows a caring response and yet on the other hand, context appears to have been forgotten, the Global South is remembered as homogenous, passive and awaiting his help. It is a powerful subjectivity that he can embody and emotion is a driving force. This is one of the key concerns: that CS, through a benevolent action creates patrons rather than partners. There may be nothing inherently wrong about patronage, but when a young person in the Global North comes to see themselves as a powerful giver to people in the South, disparity is not erased, it is reinforced. This development of a superior/inferior relationship is unlikely to be one that INGOs desire and yet, commentators such as Jefferess (2002, 2008) are concerned with the unintended effects of benevolence. The question is how partnership can be the frame by which the relationship is presented, so it become less about

'us fixing/helping them' and more about 'being in this together' or 'learning from each other'. Unfortunately, the much greater material wealth, higher levels of English literacy, sophisticated information technologies and different world views of Northern students exposed to INGO messages of Southern need are unlikely to develop genuine, mutual respect or a sense of solidarity unless there is a definite strategy in place to unsettle the historical ways of relating.

Returning to evidence from the study, diverse attitudes and receptions towards CS were recorded. At least half the students expressed positive feelings towards CS marketing, saying that they were informative about the needs of others. Approximately a quarter of the students in the study were both critical and questioning of CS marketing in particular. This next extract illustrates some of the tensions that were present.

G1: I think that I think the words on the poster 'Donate Now, you can make a difference' [referring to a clip art in the questionnaire that is of a stylized CS poster] are all bullshit really. I think that we can't make a difference as one person to one person. They say that if you provide $40 a month you're going to make a change to the whole community and yet they only have one person showing on the poster...
B1: I also agree with that opinion, but then, there's another way of looking at it...if you are helping one child, one community, one town or city that's one less that you'll need to help in the future, or hope that you won't need to help. But also, that there may not be as much money as we think going into it.
G1: Yeah you can help one person, but you have to keep helping them.
G2: How would you feel if you were in the community and you weren't the person on the poster?
B1: That like if you're the one that wasn't being helped, like would the $40 get shared between the 1000 people in the community?
G1: Yeah so that's not going to go a long way is it?
B1: No well, I mean do your math sort of thing, y'know.
B2: And with all the kids and how they show all the children on the posters and stuff, why can't they just stop having kids?
[School 2, Group D]

In G1's second comment 'you have to keep helping them' concern about dependency and the endlessness of aid seems to be entrenched.

At the end of this extract B2 remarks that in his opinion, the advertisements are evidence of overpopulation, leading him to accuse the 'Other' of irresponsibility. In both cases initial empathy has dissipated. Doubts, voiced scepticisms and even anger at INGO's marketing are notable and the students appear to be building up defenses (Seu, 2010) for why they do not wish to donate or take part. They critique the effectiveness of the CS initiative on offer as well as the marketing techniques. Similar friction in relationships between Northern publics and with the INGO sector has researchers worried as it may be the culmination of several factors. Seu's (2010) work in this area is useful, as is the work by Smith (2004), Smith and Donnelly (2004) and Dalton et al (2008).

Researchers are moving beyond singular causes, such as 'compassion fatigue' and considering how people negotiate the INGO demand and position themselves in response. These complex negotiations were in evidence with these young people in their talk concerning CS. Ideally, this would occur in a context where students consider what development is and how CS is a part of this sector. Then the students should consider the benefits and disadvantages of different forms of CS funded intervention, such as community development initiatives emphasizing self-help and community mobilization rather than ongoing individual assistance. They would also be encouraged to consider CS rationally as opposed to emotionally. Often emotion is engaged first (Manzo, 2006) and this lack of deeper critical engagement can create only a surface understanding and appreciation of development, a concern that has emerged from other research (Edge et al, 2009; Marshall, 2005).

The research found that the young people were empathetic towards the distant and vulnerable 'Other' but that the cumulative marketing of need by CS INGOs and a shallow engagement with ideas about development created a barrier for over two-thirds of the students canvassed. Often the students could only see a financial transaction (donate now or sponsor) as the main way to engage with the 'Other' and address global poverty. These responses mirror work by Smith and Donnelly (2004) that showed that young people were not engaged in debates around development; they saw themselves (often negatively) as targets of INGO campaigns. Other messages about aid and development were present (such as governments trading fairly) but they were a shadow of the main emphasis to donate. In a school setting, effective GCE is likely to require considered intervention by teachers utilizing good development education pedagogy and effective curriculum materials, a reality with implications for teacher training. Dalton et al

(2008) found that even among the university students who participated in their study, CS marketing was losing its emotional pull. The students in this study with the younger students did not have compassion fatigue, but many were starting to exhibit a form of demand fatigue. Limited options had been presented to them and they had begun to both tire and be wary of the INGO's call to help.

In a study on how generation Y (born between 1979 and 1991) perceive of international aid and charity (Urbain et al, 2012), traditional concepts of duty and guilt were not seen in a positive light by young people. Other emphases such as sharing and volunteering were identified as more influential. Examining the visual face of CS marketing and the practice of sponsoring a child for its political, ethical, relational, and educational impacts on youth is significant for understanding how attitudes and ideas about other people may be formed. In the research of year ten students reported in this chapter, one teacher remarked that You Tube clips allowed young people overseas to directly talk to her students and this created a more even relationship. She commented that her students could identify with their distant peers when they were more than a static image. Emotions other than pity or compassion were generated and the interest in the issues was much higher than for other media and programmes. The teacher concluded that having the active voice of the people speaking produced in her students 'the best personal reflective writing' for the topic. Baillie Smith (2008, p.15) reports that in research with young people, 'they particularly valued being engaged in debate and being introduced to and having various choices explained to them, without the pressure to act in a particular way'.

Considerations for child sponsorship INGOs

Writing in 1977, Lissner (1977, p.145) traced the emergence of a 'rather lively (and at times tense) debate within voluntary agencies about their educational responsibilities' to the 1960s. At the core of the concerns regarding the marketing of INGO initiatives, is that they may silence radical voices from the South, reify the role of the Northern donor, emphasize charity over structural change, misrepresent the 'other' and run contrary to principles of effective development education unfamiliar to marketing staff and senior administrators in many INGOs. Marketers and managers in INGOs who are not grounded in development theory may not realize that the call to compassion may limit other ways of thinking about people who may be suffering from

global injustice. Teachers may be similarly prone to this. Baillie Smith (2008, 2012) has observed that even when INGOs do not seek to explicitly promote fundraising, schools and teachers often default to raising money, as it offers action and closure. To move forward beyond a charitable framework, to a more equitable representation that reflects the actual relationships INGOs have with the Global South, Andreotti (2007, 2011, 2012) argues that critical self-reflexivity on Northern political and economic practices is crucial to INGO initiatives in education in the Global North. This is consistent with Dogra's claim that 'It is time for INGOs to decide if they would like to project deeper contexts of global poverty (and prosperity) and instill new attitudes or carry on with small, individual stories without the context of global relations' (Dogra, 2012, p.193).

Studies in the UK have found that short-term campaigns and messages that focus on individual solutions to poverty can cause development fatigue (Darnton and Kirk, 2011) and a sense of cynicism may set in, causing two researchers to term current UK knowledge of international development 'A mile wide and an inch deep' (Hudson and van Heerde-Hudson, 2012). Arguably, effective development education in schools is less about the right materials, or how much money is going to be raised, or who to support, but more a considered approach to influencing hearts and heads for sustainable change through effective development education and sometimes by linking INGO development education to GCE. In the table below the HEADS UP acronym developed by Andreotti (2012) can be used by both marketing and education staff in INGOs to consider their messages critically, mindful that 'Fundraising campaigns and any other attempts to communicate to the public carry with them explicit and/or implicit 'message' about the development problem' (Lissner, 1977, p.147) This being the case, CS fundraising brochures, posters and images produced by marketing staff should be assessed for their cumulative impact to ensure they do not undermine development education. Beyond asking for money, marketing staff of CS need to consider what else and what other messages are being transmitted through the marketing. If used effectively, Andreotti's acronym challenges thinking around historically embedded patterns and ways of knowing.

For CS INGOs in particular, the alignment of implicit and explicit messages in their marketing and development education strategies requires resourcing, cooperation across departments, high levels of self-reflection and strategic development of age-appropriate development education materials. Although GCE is contested, and may not translate

Concepts that may inform INGO activities and education material	**Questions for INGO staff to consider**
Hegemony (justifying superiority and supporting domination)	How can an initiative like CS support or counter the idea that the Global North is superior? What is the underlying message of a CS initiative?
Ethnocentrism (projecting one view, one 'forward', as universal)	How can CS address ethnocentrism and seek to portray a more complex notion of 'going forward' and alternative futures that include a range of voices?
Ahistoricism (forgetting historical legacies and complicities)	How can CS avoid the single simplistic history of places and people and provide wider contexts to current issues?
Depoliticization (disregarding power inequalities and ideological roots of development initiatives)	CS has been criticized in the past for being apolitical. How can this be addressed, without confusing and alienating people, or dominating the debate with simplistic or idealistic solutions?
Salvationism (framing help as the burden of the fittest)	Are young people who engage in CS able to see themselves more as learners than saviors? How might CS in development education reduce the 'illusion of superiority and the disenchantment of inferiority'? Can this be done without crushing generosity and altruism?
Un-complicated solutions (offering easy solutions that do not require systemic change)	This has been a strong critique of CS: that the monthly donation requires little commitment. How may CS initiatives address this beyond writing letters to a child? People may want simple solutions; how can INGOs help move people beyond just a 'donate now' option to a deeper engagement with complex issues?
Paternalism (seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help)	How can initiatives like CS draw upon what is good about altruism without belittling or infantilizing those who have asked for assistance?

Figure 14.1 'HEADS UP'
(Adapted with permission from Andreotti, 2012)

easily to curriculum in various Northern countries, OXFAM's Education for Global Citizenship (2006, p.5) has made some progress in stimulating thinking regarding age-appropriate outcomes spanning knowledge and understanding, skills and values and attitudes. For example knowledge and understanding outcomes in OXFAM's guideline include: Social justice and equity; Diversity; Globalization and interdependence; Sustainable development; Peace and conflict. Usefully, in the realm of social justice and equity, OXFAM's guidelines encourage beginning with concepts of fair and unfair or rights and wrongs for children under five, extending to awareness of rich and poor for ages 5–7, widening to causes and effects of inequality for ages 7–11, and delving into rights and responsibilities by age 14 and deepening student awareness by age 16 to causes of poverty and different views on its eradication and students' roles as a global citizen. No doubt this pedagogical progression would be much debated by educators however few would contest the need for nuanced, age-appropriate resources or presume that marketing materials would suffice. All marketing materials need to be evaluated for their educational influence and CS initiatives are no exception to this.

In some cases, opportunity exists for strategic networking between leading CS INGOs and non-CS INGOs to partner with elementary and secondary education providers in the development of age-appropriate curriculum and development education resources. For example, in Australia, World Vision, OXFAM, Caritas, Save the Children and Plan (and others) have formed a Global Education Working Group with terms of reference to seek best practice in Global Education and also to advocate for 'global perspectives' and non-paternalistic attitudes in the development of the new nationwide Australian curriculum. Large INGOs are increasingly interested in influencing what is taught in schools. In the Australian context for example, the publication 'Global Perspectives: A framework for global education in Australian schools' (Curriculum Corporation, 2008) has been funded by the Global Education Project, which is supported by the Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program. The reference group included academics from leading Australian universities and representation from prominent INGOs such as World Vision Australia, a geography teachers association, plus various foundations and entities. Collaboration at this level may not be feasible for small CS INGOs however even for them there is a need to consider that the development of empathy for people overseas is desirable though far from being a simple process.

As well as familiarizing themselves with advances in development education and the broader debate over the role of GCE in schools, the following guidelines are suggested for CS INGOs to consider when developing and presenting their initiatives, particularly CS, to young people in the North. They may be read as a synthesis of the concerns raised by Andreotti's HEADS UP, Baillie Smith's (2008, 2012) concerns over INGOs role in development education, Graves' (2007) view and the concerns of Pardiñaz-Solis (2006).

Development education should feature Southern voices

Inclusion of a diversity of Southern voice in development education for school children is necessary. The presence of Southern voice is of paramount importance. According to Graves:

> People of the South are seldom presented as agents of their own change. Materials produced by charities and churches focus on information from their projects. Their 'partners' present the Southern dimension. This means 'witness', case studies and inspiring stories. These voices are necessary, as is Southern analysis and research but agency material and development education material seldom draw on this. Overview and analysis rests with the North. Editorial control rests with the North. Presentation belongs to Northern people. These controlling processes usually exclude Southern people (Graves, 2007, p.89).

Questions for INGO staff and teachers interested in effective development education include: Whose voice is privileged; who is the hero in the story? Are the diverse voices of Southern people and children present? Who is representing whom? Are people aware of different views about development and the diversity within the South? Are Southern people shown as actively working towards their own development? These questions challenge what some commentators are calling a form of narcissistic humanitarianism, whereby the Northern donor is given super powers by INGOs (Chouliaraki, 2010; Jefferess, 2008, 2012). Graves' call is to 'Support people in the Global South as agents of their own change by challenging the notion that Southern people are disempowered and incapable of their own agency' (Graves, 2007, p.89).

It is important to acknowledge historical and political complexity

Questions to consider include: Is the marketing campaign balanced with educational resources that recognize complexity? What will the 'poor' be remembered for? Considering what is being left out, is complexity being sacrificed for a quick donation? While marketing imperatives demand simple messaging, complexity tells a fuller story, and gives dignity to people (Adichie, 2009). Effective global education or development education avoids overwhelming emphasis on isolated, de-contextualized representations and stereotypes. Campaign managers and resource writers for schools should assume that their resource may be the only information that is being presented to young people concerning a people or region. They need to remember that all campaigns are educating people about people.

It is important to encourage older students to contest representations of poverty and development

INGOs face an internal tension regarding education and fundraising. While there are constraints, there are also opportunities. Offering young people a choice, opening up the debate around development within an age-appropriate pedagogy and eventually presenting CS (and the sector) in a frame that challenges hegemonic ideas of development is a more effective and ethical way of engaging young people, especially older high-school students. This may be a leap too far for many INGOs which lack the ability, funds, time or resources to interface with schools, but connecting with those INGOs that do is important. Seeking quick closure to an issue, provision of one-off fundraising events and considering schools just as sources of potential donors does wider development education a disservice. Moving students from compassionate acts of charity to informed engagement is key.

Promote holistic development grounded in partnership

Bryan (2011) has argued that the 'fun, fasting and fundraising' model is limited in its ability to engage youth in the long term. A deeper and more diverse engagement may bring in less money, but may herald a change in long-term attitudes. Questions to consider for marketing staff include: What is the short-term aim of a CS campaign? What are the long-term aims? What type of relationship is suggested and promoted – is it one of partnership? Finally, are Northern students invited or pressured to respond out of a sense of guilt or paternalism?

Conclusion

INGOs continue to have an important role in mediating relationships across geographic, cultural and economic divides. INGOs, and CS INGOs in particular need to consider if they are barriers to effective development education, or facilitators committed to respectful advertising, appropriate images, design and dissemination of age-appropriate, pedagogically sound education materials designed to disrupt the inequality that exists, expand global awareness and encourage practice of effective citizenship. What is at stake is future global South-North relations. As young people interact with their peers across the divides, they will seek diverse ways of relating and promoting social justice that may include individual child sponsorship, but hopefully, will be so much more.

Despite Bryan's (2011) view that development education has lost its radical edge, the extent to which CS INGOs were ever radical in school settings is questionable. The recommendations offered in this chapter allow CS INGOs to consider not just their immediate aims, such as more donors, but the frames in which they are presenting people, including themselves, their constituents and their partners in the South. If INGOs are to move beyond just marketing their interventions in schools, to active agency in development education and commitment to giving voice to the South, they will need to influence curriculum in context with the broader discussion over the future of Global Education and GCE. This requires not just self-awareness, and isolated self-reflection, but active partnership and collaboration across the sector.

Acknowledgements

The authors of this chapter would like to thank Dr. Steve Tallon, Dr. Fiona Beals, Dr. David Jefferess and Dr. Matt Baillie Smith for their feedback on earlier drafts of this chapter. The authors would also like to thank Prof. Vanessa Andreotti for permission to use the HEADS UP framework and Rod Yule, World Vision's Manager Global Education, for his input.

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